

The Principia.

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The Principia

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound moral Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, duties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

✂ Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THIRD LETTER TO SENATOR SEWARD

Hon. William H. Seward,

SIR:—In my second letter I argued the uselessness of your proposed measures of pacification, by showing that they did not satisfy the demands of the slaveholders whom you designed to conciliate; while, at the same time, they were odious, not only to the abolitionists and anti-slavery men of the free States, but to the masses of our intelligent free citizens in general, by whom the pretended "Compromises of the Constitution" have been reluctantly submitted to, as a "disagreeable duty" and who would never consent to your proposed amendments of the Constitution in favor of slavery.

You may perhaps, calculate upon the influence of that large class who are indifferent to the question of slavery or freedom, so that they can only be left undisturbed in their pursuits of wealth, pleasure, preferment, popularity, or office; and who, regardless of the rights of the colored people, are almost equally forgetful of their own, and especially of their posterity.

I grant you that you may safely count upon all these. The dram-shops, the liquor-venders, and their miserable victims will be on your side of this question. So will those Doctors of Divinity who try to prove the Divine right of slavery from the Holy Scriptures, which denounce terrible woes against oppressors, and against nations and rulers that tolerate oppression. And along with them will be found infidel philosophers, who deny that God has made of one blood all nations of men, that we are all descended from Noah and from Adam, and that "Eve was the mother of all living." On your side, too, in this matter, may be found the clamorers for the "Compromises of the Constitution" who are not content with the Constitution as it is,—who in one breath declare that the Constitution as it is, "guarantees slavery," but who, in the next, demand that a guaranty for slavery be introduced into it. You will have with you the patriotic Union saviors, who sympathize with the seceders, and are, to a great extent, in conspiracy with them. Your measures will have the united votes of the "gentlemen of property and standing" who incite mobs against the abolitionists, and of the rum-becrazed ragamuffins, whom they bring along with them, to do their bidding. You will have the solemn-faced eulogists of the sacredness of pro-slavery laws, side by side with the lawless portion of the community, well known to the police, and some of them to the keepers of the City and State Prisons.

Such have been the supporters of despotism, in all ages and nations. Such are the supporters of slavery, now, in this nation. And such, Mr. Seward, will be the chief, the indispensable supporters of your *Compromise measures*—the main body of the voters whom must carry them, at the polls,

if they are carried at all. And I hardly need remind you that measures to be carried mainly by such adherents can achieve nothing for the permanent welfare of the country, or for the lasting reputation of those who propose and urge their adoption. *A priori*, at least, it must strike the mind of any sagacious statesman, that measures leaning for their support upon such classes of the community, and opposed by the opposite classes, would not be likely to be conservative, either of the stability of a Republican Government, or of the security of the liberties of its citizens.

I propose to test this, by a consideration of the measures themselves, of their character, tendency, and probable effects.

For the purposes of this examination, I will suppose that your measures are adopted, that the community, North and South, for the time being, apparently acquiesce in or submit to them, that the seceders are pacified, and come back again into the Union, that the Republican party comes into power, and that everything becomes as quiet as before the abolition excitement commenced. This is granting you more than you have any right to expect, but for the sake of the argument, we will suppose it to have taken place.

What have you gained? Have you done anything to remove the *real cause* of our present difficulties, or to prevent their recurrence. No. For you will not have removed SLAVERY. And you know, Mr. Seward, that slavery, and not anti-slavery is the *true cause* of those difficulties. You will not—you cannot deny this.

And your measures, whatever else they may do, will not have removed that cause. On the contrary, the very fact of their adoption, the very fact of their success, will be the fact of the strengthening of that cause, and of perpetuating it to the greatest possible length of time. You propose, by an *unamendable amendment*, to fortify slavery wherever it now exists, so far as the tolerance of it is concerned, and you propose to perpetuate the Federal protection of it by the enforced rendition of fugitive slaves, and the readiness of the Federal Government to assist in quelling any future insurrection of slaves—a contest, in which, as Jefferson said, "the Almighty has no attributes that could take sides with us."

Your measures do not provide for any such change in human nature, in the moral and Providential Government of God, or in the laws of moral and political cause and effect, as should prevent the recurrence of the same results from the existence of slavery, as have already resulted from it, in this country, and which have always resulted from it, in other nations and in former ages. You suggest no measures for repressing the "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and freedom, between barbarism and civilization, between enlightened christianity, and enforced heathenism, between fundamental morality and the practice of slaveholding,—between the progressive spirit of the age demanding human enlightenment, and the demands of a system that forbids education, that denies the right of free speech, that tolerates not the liberty of the press, a system that lives and has its definition in human brutality and debasement.

I said your measures provided for no such changes as these. I ought to add, however, that they would tend in that direction, and that so far as they should succeed, they would do all that could be done to effect all this. Thus much you might claim. Or, if you declined to claim, it would be in vain to deny. Nevertheless, Mr. Seward, in supposing the utmost possible success of your proposed measures, I do not admit, but deny, that any such result can be secured. And consequently I affirm that SLAVERY, the sole grand cause of our present difficulties, if permitted to remain, and if sanctioned and strengthened, as you propose, would inevitably encounter, anew, the same opposition

that it has already encountered; and that, consequently, the "irrepressible conflict" would again manifest itself, and rage all the more fiercely for the temporary suspension of hostilities, and for the increased pressures and provocations which would intensify its action.

The most terrible earthquakes of human indignation against oppressors, have been those occasioned by "pacifications" that have made the yoke unendurable, or have extinguished the hope of peaceful deliverance. Had there been no repeal of the edict of Nantes, no series of similar outrages upon human rights, no inquisitions, no Bastilles, there would have been no bloody revolution by the use of the guillotine, in France. Had there been no despotism in St. Domingo—no struggle of the slaveholders to regain and perpetuate their unrighteous dominion, no perfidy on the part of Napoleon who had been confided in by the people as their protector, no perfidious bargain between that apostate protector and the insatiate oppressors, to rivet the fetters of an abused but brave people, the "horrors of St. Domingo" would never have been witnessed. Pacifications between oppressors and those who had been looked up to, as protectors, have ever been the prelude to great acts of heroism, by which the oppressed have been delivered.

You will understand all this, Mr. Seward. And on reflection, you cannot help seeing that your proposed measures of pacification are directly calculated, if adopted, to excite insurrections and invasions, like those of Nat. Turner, in 1831, and of John Brown in 1859. Such measures instead of being prudential, conservative and peaceful, are in reality, however intended, the most exciting, the most incendiary, the most dangerous that could have been devised. You have, yourself, in this very speech, in your argument dissuasive to disunion and secession, on the part of the planters, alluded to this very danger, to which they are exposed.

The only conservative measure in a slave country, is the abolition of slavery, and, until this is effected, no security can be provided, either for the slaveholders or for the nation.

How greatly have you wronged your countrymen, and wronged our common human nature, by assuming, as you do, that, were it not for the attempt to make slavery subservient to political ambition, the two systems of free and slave labor might live peacefully side by side—and that the forcible rendition of fugitive slaves might be so modified as to be tolerated by freemen, jealous of the rights of our common human nature, rights which, if cloven down, in the person of one man, are of necessity, made insecure in all men. I here allude to a principle which you, Mr. Seward, as a lawyer, a civilian, and a statesman, know perfectly well, lies at the very basis of all civil Government, and all protecting law.

By some of your associates, if not distinctly by yourself, it has been confidently stated that the only objection of Northern men to the Fugitive Slave bill—the only necessity for Personal Liberty bills,—lies in the danger that free men, instead of slaves will be seized by kidnappers, and carried into slavery.

How different this statement is from the real fact, cannot be unknown to you, Mr. Seward, as a citizen of Central or Western New York. You know that the rescue of Jerry at Syracuse, and of other slaves elsewhere, has been the result of sympathy with them as slaves, and as fugitives from slavery, from respect of their manhood and admiration of their skill and heroism in escaping from slavery. You know that it is the public sympathy with the fugitive slave as such, and because such, that lends the charm of romance to the story of the flying fugitive, and that consecrates the "underground railroad" as an "institution" of Northern freemen.

Daniel Webster, who had said that the fugitive slave bill

was unconstitutional, publicly threatened, some time before the Jerry rescue, its enforcement, in a speech to the people of Syracuse. The best, the most virtuous, the most enlightened, the most law-abiding and orderly portion of the people of Syracuse and of that region of country,—yes—of the North generally, quietly put their veto upon Daniel Webster's claims to the Presidency from that hour, and the knowledge of that fact sent him mourning to his grave. Your fellow Senators, from the slave States, were entitled to know this fact. And they ought to know, if they do not, that among the loudest Northern supporters of slavery, whether priests or politicians, there are few so debased and so depraved that they would not, like Mrs. Stowe's Senator Bird of Ohio, assist to rescue a fugitive slave, whenever the Southern master with his lash, (the terror alike of slaves and of dough-faces,) was out of sight, and out of mind. Why, sir, it is credibly reported that when a fugitive slave, hotly pursued, mistaking the *N. Y. Observer* office for the neighboring Anti-slavery rooms, beseeched the reverend editor of that pro-slavery Journal to shelter him, the favor was not denied. It has been doubted whether James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald*, or Marshal Rynders, when not acting officially, would refuse such an act of humanity, which would be granted by a heathen or a savage.

Talk of "pacifications" that will put a stop to the rescue of fugitive slaves! "Pacifications" that will reconcile the people of the free States to Federal enactments for the forcible recovery of fugitive slaves! "Pacifications" that will reconcile them to the presence among them of slave catchers, with or without the authority of State or National Governments! Never,—no—never will you live to see that day, Mr. Seward.

If you should witness an apparent lull of excitement on that subject, you may understand it to be the calm that precedes the tempest. Why have not the people of Wisconsin risen, en masse, and liberated Sherman M. Booth? Because the Republican editors told them to wait till the 4th of March 1861, when their rights would be peacefully vindicated at the Capitol. Why were so many displeased because another Presidential Candidate was nominated instead of William H. Seward? It was because they relied on him to redeem those promises of the Republican Editors, and feared to trust another, who might not be equally zealous in the "irrepressible conflict," equally true to the Constitution, and to the "higher law." I said the Constitution, because intelligent friends of freedom have now generally learned—what you and President Buchanan, and the slaveholders have learned, that the Constitution as it is, without amendment, does not warrant the rendition of slaves, but only of "persons" from whom service and labor is legally, and for value received, according to contract, equitably "due."

If the Presidential election of 1860 is not to relieve the people of this nuisance, the election of 1864, must. Were it otherwise, the people, despairing of redress by the ballot box, would resort to other methods.

In one word, unless the spirit of liberty can be extinguished, by your compromise measures, "the irrepressible conflict" cannot be repressed by them.

Another familiar train of thought and of practical illustrations, conducts us to a similar conclusion. Every concession, to slavery, every compromise with slaveholders invites further demands, and almost necessitates compliance with them. The concession to the slaveholders of Georgia and South Carolina, to postpone the prohibition of the African Slave trade for twenty years, fortified slavery in those states, and now they demand a repeal of the prohibition. The Missouri Compromise, so odious at the North that it drove every Northern doughface into private life, who voted for it, and kindled in the breasts of Benjamin Lundy, John Rankin, and many others, a determination to spend their lives, (as they have done) in efforts to agitate the slavery question and overthrow slavery, at the same time emboldened and enabled the slaveholders to wield the Federal Government in support of slavery, rising constantly higher in their demands, in proportion to the concessions made to them. The annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, the "Compromises of 1850," the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Dred Scott decision, the struggle in Kansas—all these and the like of them are included in the history of compromises, concessions, and the aggressions and agitations growing out of them.

Judge Jay's history of the subserviency of the Federal Government to slavery—a book, the perusal of which by northern freeman, so effectually rouses them against slavery—what is it, but the history of concessions to slavery. emboldening the slaveholders to make still more haughty and insolent demands, on the one hand, and rousing a free people, jealous of their rights, to a still more determined opposition, on the other. Concessions to slavery, instead of pouring water on the fires of contention, have been pouring oil upon them, till, under the process, the Government itself is in danger of being consumed.

And yet, Mr. Seward, you are proposing to add fresh fuel to the conflagration! Why, Sir, have you not found, already, that your speech has only added to the contention? If you have not, the people have. How could it be otherwise? That speech, while it roused the indignation of Northern freemen, certified to the slaveholders that they were ready to give up their liberties, "Republicanism, and every political name and thing" to pacify their anger, and satisfy their demands. They have taken you at your word. Having giving them all they had asked, they spit the concession back in your face. Mr. Mason and Mr. Wigfall have answered your later speech and that of Senator Douglas, as slave drivers are accustomed to answer their slaves. And like slaves you received it in silence.

Your concessions, servile as they were, are not accepted. You have only one more concession to propose. From your present stand point, it may be easily made. You may tell the slaveholders that you and your party, not only accept the Dred Scott decision, in respect to the Territories, but that you will apply the same principle to the States, as did Mr. Buchanan in his *Kansas Message*. Offer then, an amendment of the Constitution, to establish slavery in all the States, and reducing the laboring people, "bleached or unbleached" to the condition of slaves.

Do this, in the name of frankness and consistency, or else retract, manfully, all your proposed concessions, and substitute, in their stead, a demand that the Constitution shall be administered "to establish justice and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States, and their posterity." Take one side or the other, Mr. Seward, in this "irrepressible conflict." Contend for "the higher law" or for "the law of sin and death" embodied in the Slave code, so that historians may know on which side to count you.

WILLIAM GOODSELL.

339 Pearl street, New York, Feb. 9, 1861.

WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

NO. XXIII.

Review of a recent original product of Southern literature, in defense of the Divinity of Slavery.

The press of St. Louis has lately issued a thick octavo pamphlet with Dedication, Preface, Proem, and Introduction entitled, "*The Nachash origin of the Black and Mized races: By C. Blancher Thompson.*"

It professes to prove from the Bible, with free citations from the Hebrew text, in faultless type, these three propositions:

- I. Negroes are not the children of Adam; their status by Creation is that of subjects.
- II. Negro Slavery was instituted by Divine authority at the creation of man.
- III. Adam was created for Dominion, and the Negro was made his Slave Subject, in the Garden of Eden.

In the advertisement it is said:

"This pamphlet contains important information for the million, showing from the Hebrew Scriptures, that although Negroes are intellectual beings, possessed of rational, accountable, and immortal souls, of the same genus with Adam, they are nevertheless an inferior species of that genus, and were made subject to the Adamic race, in their creation, by the positive command of God, and are so to continue throughout all of their generations; which information is so condensed that it will not be found cumbersome to the reader, containing *multum in parvo*, and enables the author to offer it to the public at low rates, so that every person may possess a copy:

Specimen copies of the work are sent to certain abolitionists with the following note.

Dear Sir:—Learning that you are an abolitionist, and believing that your sentiments are the result of honest convictions upon the subject, I take the liberty to present you

with a copy of a work, which I have just published on the origin of the negro race, which I doubt not will meet with your approbation, and will serve to relieve your mind of an embarrassing uncertainty relative to the destiny of that sable race; and through your influence, I hope to be able to place my work in the hands of many of your friends of the same sentiment, for whose benefit I have been induced to adopt this course, for the purpose of imparting to yourself and them, for a mere trifle, the information on the subject which has cost me much time and study to accumulate, and which I deem to be conclusive.

Most respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. BLANCHER THOMPSON.

This work is already producing a marked sensation at the South, and is eagerly seized by many, as being powerfully in the interest of slavery. Rev. Dr. Cartwright's New Orleans reviews it in *DeBow's Southern Review*. He concurs with the author in the view,

That the 24th verse of the first chapter of Genesis has been mistranslated, and should read, "The Lord said, Let the earth bring forth intelligent creatures with immortal souls after their kind, cattle," etc. Taking this as a basis, the Doctor, in a way satisfactory to himself, finds that this race existed before Adam, that they were negroes, that the tempter himself was a negro in Eden, and not by any means a serpent, but only called so, on account of the low cunning peculiar to the race. Thus, he argues, the negro being the child of the earth is a lower order of being than the paleo-faced of the human family."

Evidently in the view of Dr. Cartwright, the light which this book sheds upon the divinity of slavery

"Seems another morn ris'n on Mid-Noon."

A new science to be called "*Nachashology*" bids fair to be inaugurated by this book, in the interest of slavery; and we shall not wonder if it shortly have its professors, orators, poets and readers in South-land especially; inasmuch as by it, "the moral right of the people of the United States to make property of Negroes is indisputably established."

Bishop Polk's great Southern University—for which he has collected in his Diocese \$300,000, and in which the Professors are to be required by their very conditions of office, "to teach and maintain that slavery was commanded by God's chosen theocracy, and sanctioned by His Apostles in the Apostolic Church, and to be supported, vindicated, and defended as a noble and necessary institution of God,"—will do well to keep an eye upon C. Blancher Thompson, as the prospective incumbent of the Professorship of Ethnology, or Nachashology in that Institution.

We propose to give a synopsis of the novel argument of this book, for the readers of the Principia, inasmuch as its publication and the use that will be made of it, are likely to form a *Way-Mark* in the moral war with slavery, and because by it, the question at issue between Abolitionists and the defenders of slavery, "Is it right to hold human beings as property?" may be changed to this, "are Negroes and Mulattoes the legitimate children of Adam?"

The work assumes to answer Scripturally and reasonably "the foundation argument upon which the abolition heresy has been sustained, viz. that the Negro race being children of Adam in common with the white race, are equally entitled by nature to the domain of the earth."

By correcting what the author believes to be a fundamental error in christian sentiment relative to the origin of the negro race, it professes to have discovered "a cure for the only evil that is potent to destroy the peace of our country, and to overthrow the revered institutions of our fathers." And the author, therefore, proposes that Cosmopolitan Christian Societies be formed on the basis of his discovery, throughout the country and the world, "to counteract the influence of the Anti-slavery Associations now so formidable for evil to our country, and to the Southern portion thereof, in particular."

Big with such a momentous discovery, the work is appropriately dedicated

"To the President of the United States, the two houses of Congress, the Governors and Legislators of each of the States, and to all citizens of the United States who honor and respect the constitution and the laws of the confederation of these sovereignties, created by the sovereign people, and constituting the several States of the Caucasian Republic of North America."

It therefore invokes the aid of all the aforesaid parties to

Place the work in the hands of every American citizen "that they may all learn therefrom that it is quite possible that God created the Adamic race white, and gave them dominion over all the earth, and over all the living crea-

tures upon the face of the earth; and that he also created the *Nachash*, alias *Cush*, alias negro race, black, and made them subject to the Adamic race throughout all their generations, and that he subsequently cursed all the fruits of the mixture of the seed of these two races to the same subjection."

Let now, another Representative, (Clarke of Missouri,) rise in his seat, at the present session of Congress, and propose a Committee of Inquiry into the merits of this book, *a la mode* the Helper volume, and its fortune is made.

In the Proem it is admitted that all the arguments hitherto used in the support of slavery, "have failed to check the onward march of the most mischievous of all heresies that ever distracted the political arena of any nation, or disturbed the christian fellowship of any church," and the reason alleged for this failure, is the assumption that man and the negro have descended from the same parent stock, and consequently are blood relations, brothers by consanguinity.

The author admits, with Charles O'Connor, that if the slaveholder is not now prepared for a test of his right in holding slave property in negroes, and mulattoes,

"By the natural laws of their origin, and originally decreed destiny, the verdict is likely to be rendered against them; after which, the majority power will sanction the last resort of down trodden humanity, viz., Insurrection and Revolution, until the freedom of the Ethiopian race is attained.

"This crisis has evidently been seen from afar by the statesmen of the South, and with trembling solicitude they have sought for the means to arrest it. They have been inwardly conscious of their right of dominion over the negro race, but how to prove that right satisfactorily to the majority of the people has puzzled the wisest heads; they have therefore, strove to defer the crisis, in hopes that Providence, who had so wisely and mysteriously directed the adoption of the present Constitution of the United States, under which their rights are conceded, would, ere the crisis should come, develop the necessary evidence to secure the judgment of the majority in favor of their domestic institutions."*

The author is professedly self-satisfied that in this crisis God has raised him up to develop the necessary evidence wherewith to gain the verdict for the slaveholder before the tribunal of an impartial world. He therefore declares

"As the volunteer Attorney of all the white slaveholders in the United States, I solemnly file in the archives of this court (the Sovereign People of the United States) our Petition for a writ of Injunction against all Insurrections and Revolutionary movements for the freedom and self-government of the negro race, until after a full and careful investigation of the question at issue relative to the origin of this race."

As a reason for this injunction he proposes to prove by the Bible, that the negro race is an inferior creation of intellectual beings, made subject to Adam and his posterity, by the natural law of their being, throughout all generations. That the negro was called into being before the creation of Adam, under the general name of *Naphesh*, *Chagab*, or what our translators call in the 24th verse of the 1st chapter of Genesis, "the living creature." To this "living creature," endowed with speech and reason, created on the fifth day, or in the fifth period, anterior to Adam, whose creation was on the sixth day. Adam afterward gave the name of *Nachash*, translated serpent, in the first verse of the third chapter.

By a marvelous philological argument from this word *Nachash*, laboriously traced through many steps and modifications, the author derives *Cush*, the Hebrew name, for the Ethiopian or Negro. And at the close of his argument he says:

"Thus, by the exchange of these consonants, which changes are common in the Hebrew language, we learn that *Nachash*, when applied to the creature that beguiled Eve, is positively a synonym of *Cush* the negro; and by properly understanding the laws and usages of the language in which the account of the creation was first written, we are enabled to identify the negro as the very character used as a medium by the old Serpent the Devil, when he said to woman, 'Yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?' &c. This point being established, we have the most positive evidence of the fact, that the negro was an inferior and separate creation from Adam: that he was created as a subject of Adam, and, consequently, is not entitled to the dominion of the earth in common with Adam's seed."

The effect of such a demonstration, in the author's view, once admitted, will be, that it will lay the axe

"At the root of the tree of Abolition and Free-soilism, removing every ground of argument in favor of that heresy, the ties of consanguinity between the races being severed, the fanatical sympathy of the white race will soon disappear, and the subject will rest upon practicability and law; and when the fanatical props are all removed from the support of this heresy, we have no fears of the result; instead of the contemplation of abolishing slavery in the slave States, the system will very soon be engrafted upon, and be adopted by the present non-slaveholding States. Its practicability and usefulness will soon be appreciated by the (at present) most rabid Abolitionists. They will discover that the galling chains of slavery; which have so long been their topic, and the subject of their stirring appeals to the people of the Northern States, existed only in their imaginations, or was the necessary result of their fanatical ravings.

"When they learn that the negro was created for man's service, and needs a master to care for him, and to direct him, as much as man needs a servant to serve him, or as much as the domestic animals need shepherds to feed them; and also, that it was for the mutual benefit of those three grades of His creation, viz, man, the negro, and domestic animals; that God himself instituted this domestic system,—they can no longer object to its practicability, or fail to see its beneficial results.

The negro, also, learning that freedom will not benefit him, will be content to serve his master in obedience; while those who have no masters will so appreciate the relation of servant to the white man, that they will petition to be thus adopted into respectable families, that they may thus fulfill the purpose of their creation, and be happy."

We will follow and finish the detail of the author's reasoning, in another paper. It is worth attention as a professedly Orthodox, old-school, reverential and Biblical defence of slavery; which is to be met only by superior scholarship and learning, so far as regards the critical analysis and exigencies of the Hebrew text, and by superior common sense and stubborn facts as to its philosophy, and ethnology. The book will, perhaps some day, take its place among the curiosities of literature, in proof of the saying of Cicero, that there is no position or opinion in philosophy so absurd as not to find adherents.

WHAT IS NATIONAL DUTY, IN THE CRISIS?

Mr. Goodell. I place at your disposal the following copy of a letter. I would have preferred to have the original appear in the *Tribune*, but my writing is not in favor with that paper.

I. S.

B—, Jan. 21, 1861.

Mr. Horace Greeley. Dear Sir: The failure of several attempts to have articles published in your paper, does not allow me to hope that you will publish this letter. But I think you will be indulgent to a free expression of my views to you, on the great pending question, *What is national duty, in the crisis?* On this question it is much easier to point out a safe course, than to induce the Nation to pursue it. The due influence of a few self-evident truths, proclaimed by the Nation, at a time when oppression sharpened its perception of justice, would set us right, without the exertion of superior powers of statesmanship. But where is the statesmanship that can guide us to safety, in the absence of that preparation of the national heart, necessary to make those truths effectual? We have long been under the schooling of slavery, and the power of right over the national mind is enfeebled. A stupendous system of outrage, the destruction of which would be a blessing to all the parties concerned, is left untouched, from a notion that its removal by the National Government would be a violation of sacred rights! It is even protected by a lawlessness of Constitutional construction which, applied to other instruments, would make them useless, and destroy the confidence of society. Against this system of outrage, admitted to be dangerous to the Nation, we do not permit ourselves to use the right of self-preservation. Can this be anything but superstition paralyzing what is said to be the first law of our nature? We are reminded of the time when it was said, "Truth is fallen in the streets and equity cannot enter." The free utterance of their voice through the press is denied, lest it should defeat political wisdom. Yet never was a time when they should cry aloud and spare not more than now. Never was the prudence which would restrain their utterance, more unfortunate. Now, while the slave interest is calling for new compromises, is the time to make a clean sweep of old ones, and demand the fulfilment of the compact, to the letter. Now is the time to demand that our government shall no longer support oppression, but establish justice and secure to the people the blessings for which

we organized. Now, we should determine no longer to tolerate an interest that seeks the destruction of all other interests, nor recognize pretended rights, the exercise of which is an unsparing violation of rights. We should now demand Federal protection for all who are subject to Federal laws and liable to Federal Penalties. Now is the most favorable time to show that we do not fear slaveholders' threats. Finally, now is the time to begin the destruction of the tree whose fruit is bad faith and treason. If coercion must be applied to prevent secession, let the coercion be to Constitutional right and not merely to turbulent membership in the Union. Let it bring to the people deliverance from the lawlessness of slavery, and the reign of terror. Let it be such that the slaveholder and his posterity will have cause to thank us. Can anything less than this indicate sanity in the national mind? Is it not madness to persist, against the double light of reason and experience, in attempts to make slavery and liberty work together? The Union has been faithless to the South, in not fulfilling the "guaranty of Republican Government." We owe to her people deliverance from a tyrannical oligarchy. With what joy would the great majority of them welcome such deliverance, could they be enlightened and disabused of the misrepresentations and false impressions with which slaveholders have fortified their tyranny! We have treated them as if they had no interest to be protected, but the interest of slavery, and as if the will of slaveholders was a part of the Constitution. At this moment, South Carolina is infinitely more wronged, by the neglect of the Federal Government, than that Government is by the misguided action of her people. Had they enjoyed the light and privileges of a free State, they would have been loyal. But loyalty cannot prevail, where slaveholders are permitted to govern the popular sentiment.

The South with slavery cannot be held in permanent Union with the Free North, except by coercion, or by concession. Coercion for purposes of justice is the great duty of Government. Its business is to enforce right, where it is not voluntarily performed. But any coercion of the South which does not establish justice and bring to the people the blessings of good government, can only increase sectional hatred and enmity. Coercion, not to be an evil, must be such as to win the hearts of the people, by bringing them substantial benefit. It must be seen to be not against them, but against the cause of their troubles. Put down the secession movement, without improving the condition of the people or abolishing that hateful interest which is carrying on disorganization, and what will you have done, but cap a volcano, that it may gain strength for a more terrible explosion? As to concession, the demand for it, if gratified, will never cease, and its spirit will find no stopping place, short of entire submission. When you begin concession, calculate to end in the establishment of slavery throughout the entire Union.

You hope to stop the progress of slavery, while you would spare its existence. Experience frowns on your hope. But should you succeed, what a gloomy prospect you offer in yielding to slavery more than half the soil of the Union. For what reason do you make this stupendous concession? Not because slavery is a benefit to the Nation or to any State, for it is the worst enemy of both. What, then is your reason? Are there any motives, for the concession, which we would not blush to own? If there are any motives, aside from a servile respect for slaveholders, a cowardly fear of them, or a vague and superstitious notion of their rights. I know not what they are. You oppose concession. And yet by conceding, or not denying, the right of slavery to remain where it is, you disarm yourself of all power, moral and constitutional, to prevent its extension or to prevent any amount of concession which may be demanded.

How little, if any at all, you rely on moral and constitutional arguments, is seen in your late letter to Mr. Carrenden. That letter is powerful in its way. But if, instead of pleading the cause of a party, you had pleaded the cause of the people, the whole people, North and South, against the pretensions of slavery, how much more power you might have wielded, and to how much better purpose. Admit the right to hold property in man, anywhere, and you, in effect, admit the owner's right to hold it wherever he pleases, and the Government's obligation to protect it in every nook and corner of the Union. Deny the right, and you put the ow-

* This must have been written before the President's Message, which virtually acknowledged that the Constitution is now against slavery, and must therefore be amended.—Editor.

ner upon its defense. If he takes moral ground, you have every advantage against him. If he escapes from that ground to the Constitution, you head him there, by telling him the Constitution means just what it says, that it is subject to the same rules of construction which are applied to other instruments, that while it does not recognize the right of property in man, it does recognize the right of every person to life, liberty, and property, and that swearing to support the Constitution is swearing in favor of justice and liberty, and that is swearing against slavery. In opposing the extension of slavery, you are bound to act on true grounds and not on false grounds, to treat slavery as a wrong to be suppressed and not as a right to be restricted. A different course has created misunderstanding that might have been prevented. You complain of the bad faith of slaveholders. They complain of yours. *On your admission, their ground of complaint is as good as your own.* When you admit slaveholding to be a Constitutional right, you own yourself under a compact that binds you to respect that right. Where, then, is your faith, if you would hinder the enjoyment of that right, wherever the owner of a slave pleases? Is the Southern complaint of Northern faithlessness without reasonable foundation? In fairness, we should tell the slaveholder that his practice is an outrage equally against right and the Constitution. Such fidelity would make him understand us, and command his respect.

National sin has brought us into national trouble. Whether we are to come out, without, terrible chastisement, remains to be seen. But if we escape now, can we hope to escape in future, without national repentance? It would be difficult to explain, in all particulars, what we ought to do, but quite easy to state some things which we are liable to do, and ought not to do, if we would avoid calamities.

1. We must not disregard the teaching of experience. We think highly of the wisdom of our institutions. But it is plain from our troubles that we have committed some important mistake. We should find out the mistake, and correct it. If we doubt what correction is needed, would not the doubt be removed by attending to the admirable harmony existing among the free States?

2. We must not yield to the illusion that we can prosper by any wisdom or policy involving a sacrifice of right. There is a Power that takes the wise in their own craftiness, and rebukes the wrongs of men, through their over confident wisdom. It will be a mercy if we have not, under a law of retribution, prepared the instrument of our own disorganization, by yielding to the wicked demands of slavery in order to save the Union. Had we used our Government to establish justice, as we ought to have done, there would have been no disorganizing interest to seek its overthrow.

3. We must not forget the supremacy of the universal law of right, nor pervert the Constitution, so as to make it conflict with that law. The law of right, alone, makes human laws binding. The men who exalt human laws above the law of right, do not truly understand their binding force, and are the more liable to break them. They who would violate human enactments and take the consequences, rather than do a moral wrong, will be the last to disturb the peace.

4. Finally, we should not forget that Government is a divine institution, and that it is the will of its Author that the ruler should bear the sword, not for the terror of the weak and oppressed, but for their protection against the oppressor.

Yours, I. S.

P. S. Since writing the above, I have seen your reply to Mr. O'Sullivan. In that reply, you appear like a shorn Samson. Your quotation from Mr. Webster's speech at Nible's Garden is unfortunate. Mr. Webster recognized binding constitutional guaranties of slavery, but was opposed to its extension. His privilege of non-extension, it appears, amounted to just this: If we, of the North, can out-vote Southerners, in Congress, we will stop slavery; but if the South can, by corrupting the North, beat us, we are ready to fulfill all the cruel and wicked guaranties of slavery, in new slave States! Better insist on the original, natural, and unquestionable right of society to establish justice, and then treat the Constitution as if it was an instrument of truth.

The Virginia election is believed to have gone in favor of the Union, against secession.

FROM REV. DR. CHEEVER

EDINBURGH, Jan. 16th, 1861.

My Dear Brother Goodell.—How are you getting on, these stormy and terrible times? I have not had the pleasure of seeing your admirable paper, for some weeks, but I hope you are continuing its editorship. If the views and lessons you have so long sought to impress upon our countrymen had been received and heeded, we should not now have been plunged into ruin, by the madmen of the South. But it seems as if God had given all classes over to a judicial blindness, and was now going to let them reap the consequences of holding the truth in unrighteousness. The proposition to amend the Constitution in favor of slavery we suppose will prove successful. But what an acknowledgment this is, of the truth of those views of the Constitution contained in your invaluable work, "Our National Characters." What an unconscious admission that the Constitution as it stands, does not sanction slavery! If it did, why need it be amended? Why altered in behalf of slavery, if it secured property in man, before?

What are the pulpits, the ministers, the churches, doing? Are there any that speak plainly for God, for the slave, for the abolition of slavery, in his name? Here again the people of Europe look on with amazement to see, as of old, the wonderful and horrible thing committed in the land, the prophets prophesying falsely, and the slaveholders bearing rule by their means, and the people, even the professed people of God, loving to have it so. North, Middle, and South, Adams in Boston, Van Dyke in New York, Palmer in New Orleans, publicly consecrating slavery, in God's name, and denouncing those, who, at God's command, seek to abolish it! Adams, I see, took for his text against the Abolitionists, a word out of the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, "An evil cometh out of the North upon all the inhabitants of the land." A most remarkable example of that stealing of the words of the Lord, which God reprobrates so terribly in Jeremiah xxiii, 30 and the context; one of the most amazing instances I think I ever knew of the word of God perverted from its plain meaning, and a meaning forced upon it absolutely contrary, and by the context demonstrated to be false. It was bad enough to dare to go to Jeremiah at all, for a text in defence of oppression; but actually to select a text which threatens God's vengeance on all the inhabitants of Judea, because they had themselves sanctioned oppression and taken the part of the oppressor, and had not done justice to the oppressed, and would not, and by means of a play upon the words to apply that very text against those who in our own country are endeavoring to obey God in proclaiming his truth against oppression, and against that very form of oppression on account of which God, by the armies of the North, swept the people from Judea, and gave them up to captivity and ruin—this goes beyond any plagiarism and perversion of the Word of God that has ever come beneath my notice, considering especially that it is done in behalf of the very iniquity against which particularly the Prophet Jeremiah was commissioned, and his whole book of prophecies recorded. Except that such trifling in the pulpit is too nearly allied with impiety at such a crisis, on so solemn a subject, it would have been well for some of you to have advertised a sermon in answer to Dr. Adams from the text in Job, "Out of the South cometh the whirlwind. Fair weather cometh out of the North. With God is terrible majesty." It would have been fair weather, long ago, both North and South, if the preachers of his word had but declared his terrible majesty, as it is arrayed against the sin of slavery. Had they, instead of stealing away his words, and telling their own sin sanctioning dreams, stood in his counsel, and caused the people to hear his word, he himself says they would have turned the people from their evil way. But just as Jaunes and Jambres withstood Moses, endeavoring to prevent Pharaoh from letting the people go free, at God's command, so have these also resisted the truth, men of corrupt minds (certainly in this thing corrupt) and reprobate concerning the faith.

My dear brother, may God be with you and sustain you, even to the end. You have fought the battle against slavery with God's truth, profoundly, religiously, on grounds that cannot be gainsaid, with demonstration that cannot be answered. I did hope that your views of the Constitution might yet, by the blessing of God, be victorious. But truly

the horizon looks as black as midnight. Cruelty and madness rule, and it seems as if God was giving our country up to utter ruin, by one cherished sin. The Lord have mercy upon us!

Ever most truly yours,
GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

FROM REV. J. C. WEBSTER.

Mr. EDITOR.—The "Church Anti-Slavery Society" has been flippantly and satirically compared to a "donkey-engine," with the evident design of making it appear of very little importance. But where the propriety of the comparison has been admitted under the idea that as the world's great Redeemer once rode on a donkey, so, in these latter days of many inventions, it would not seem so strange if he should choose a "donkey-engine" for the conveyance of his truth; then, forsooth, as a mere after-thought, and by a ruse to divert attention from the real issue, there is a vain attempt to show "a misunderstanding of a very common term in mechanics." There was no reference to the jackass species, oh no, not all, and "the donkey is a very commendable serviceable little creature" of course. "It is no disparagement of the Savior of the world, that he rode upon the 'foal of an ass.'"

But a "donkey-engine" is a very different thing indeed! And it is said "Its peculiarity is that it does not generate its own steam, but derives its motive power through a steam pipe attached to the main engine." But by reference to a "good dictionary of mechanics" or other good authority it might have been ascertained that no engine generates its own steam—that the boiler is the motive power—and that the main engine and the donkey are alike attached to it by separate pipes. If it be said that the boiler is a part of the engine, engineers do not speak of it as such. But if it be, it is a part of the main engine and the donkey alike, and the motive power common to both, so that neither has any occasion on that score to exult over the other. Besides, it is one "peculiarity" of the donkey-engine to carry a large fan to operate as a bellows to rekindle and keep up the fires. Nor does every one, who travels on our large steamboats, know perhaps, that the loud buzzing noise which he sometimes hears in the hold of the vessel is the donkey stirring up the main engine to a more faithful performance of its duty. Now it may be satirically replied that after all, the donkey is only a wheezing, noisy, sputtering thing. Nevertheless, there is its appropriate and efficient service, which must be admitted and without which the main engine might cease to operate, and the noble ship it is designed to propel, stop in her course, if not drift upon the rocks and become a wreck.

Let those therefor who would teach others first teach themselves, and when their errors are pointed out, have magnanimity enough to admit them as openly as they have endeavored to implicate others in ignorance. And let the "Church Anti-Slavery Society" go on its mission of mercy to the poor suffering bondman, by laboring to detach the Church of Christ universally from the crime of holding men as goods and chattels. I am glad to see the account of the Convention holden in N. Y., last week, in behalf of this infant organization. Let us not despair, even in this hour of our country's peril. God loves his Church. The gates of hell shall not prevail against her. And where earthly governments are overthrown, and political unions are rent assunder, she shall stand firm, the grand bulwark and defense of all the oppressed.

HOPKINTON, Jan. 31, 1861.

J. C. WEBSTER.

A PUBLIC CHALLENGE.

TO ALL RESPECTABLE ADVOCATES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The Rev. Thomas Atkins a Presbyterian of the Church of England, author of the "Wanderings of the Clerical Ulysses," is prepared by public discussion, or by lecture, to maintain the affirmative of the following propositions: namely, that the institution of American slavery is opposed to the practice of the patriarch Abraham, and to that of the Jews under the operation of the civil, or municipal law of Moses; That it is condemned by the spirit of the moral law, and by the principles and precepts of the Gospel; but, on the other hand, that the emancipation of slaves, is the natural result of the practical influences of the Christian religion.

Hence, the system of American slavery "leads, in multitudes of cases, and by a logical process" to injustice and

cruelty, to adultery and murder, to barbarism, infidelity, and eternal ruin. Further, American slavery "is the chief cause of the strife that agitates, and the danger that threatens the Union."

Therefore, it is the imperative duty of every Christian patriot and philanthropist, in the North, and in the South, to exert his personal influence, by argument and persuasion in order to dissolve the institution of domestic slavery, in a peaceable and an equitable manner. Hence, a sacred regard for the interests of pure religion, of justice and humanity, constrains Mr. Atkins, at the risk of pecuniary loss of personal suffering, and even of life itself, to consecrate his energies to attempt the emancipation of both the slaves and their masters.

Moreover, in the fulfilment of his mission, he purposes to embrace every opportunity with which a gracious Providence shall be pleased to favor him, to explain his principles on this subject of vital interest to this great though guilty country. Also to maintain the truth of his propositions, both in the Northern and Southern States of the Union. Therefore, he hereby offers to meet, for public discussion, any Clerical defender of this system, in the North, or in the South, who has a reputation for learning and respectability.

Mr. Atkins is especially desirous to meet for discussion, the Rev. H. J. Van Dyke, and the Rev. Dr. Seabury, those interesting advocates of slavery, the one defends the system on the principle of natural; the other on those of Revealed religion.

THOMAS ATKINS,

No. 9 Washington Place, South 6th street,
Williamsburgh, Brooklyn.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1861.

THE TWO RIVAL CONSPIRACIES. LOOK OUT FOR BOTH OF THEM.

Two rival conspiracies are, at the present moment, astonishing and alarming the country by their unexpected machinations.

I. There is, first, the extreme Southern or Gulf States conspiracy, for overturning the Federal Government by Secession, having for its object the security and supremacy of slavery. The process, as generally understood, is the dissolution of the present Union and Government, in the first place, with a view to a satisfactory re-construction of them afterwards.

II. There is, second, the Border States and Northern conspiracy, for preserving the present Government and Union, by such concessions to slavery as shall, in the first place induce the Border Slave States to remain in the Union, and through their influence, in the second place, persuade the seceding Gulf States to return.

In form and method these two rival conspiracies are exceedingly different, and in some respects, they are opposed to each other. The one is destructive of existing institutions, the other is conservative of them. The one seeks the disorganization of the Republican party, and would prevent the inauguration of its President elect. The other demands or consents to the inauguration of the President elect, and of his administration of the Government through the party that elected him. The one threatens and even commences war upon the Government. The other operates under the flag and watch-word of peace. Thus far, the two rival movements differ, and are opposed to each other.

Wherein do they agree?

Both are, alike, conspiracies. They are the work of rival factions, in the hands of ambitious and unprincipled politicians, bent on their own political elevation, and regardless of the rights of the people.

They are both conspiracies against our free institutions—against the Constitution, against inalienable human rights, against the liberation of the enslaved, against the security of the free, against civil and religious liberty, against the reign of impartial and protecting law, against the fundamental principles of civil government in general, and against Republican government—government by the mass of the people, in particular. Both, alike, are conspiracies against the rule of the Democratic whole, and in

favor of perpetuating the rule of the petty oligarchy of less than three hundred thousand slaveholders, over a nation of Thirty millions. Both are conspiracies to sacrifice the most sacred rights and instincts of human nature to the bloodiest, the most obscene, the "vilest oppression that ever saw the sun" *—"there being nothing of the kind equal to it, on the face of the earth." † Both are conspiracies against God and his law, against Christ and his gospel, against justice and mercy, against purity and holiness, against reason and revelation, against conscience and common sense, against civilization and human progress—against freedom and religion, the world over—against the Declaration of Independence, and against the Bible. Both are essentially atheistic, enthroning expediency in the place of right, and proclaiming it to be unprofitable and impracticable to obey God, in this present world, and therefore proclaiming and anointing Satan to be its king, or assenting, by concession, and for the sake of peace and unity, to submit to his supremacy.

What the one proposes to do by a "reconstruction" of the Government and by a new Constitution, the other proposes to do by "amendments" to the present Constitution, that shall make it all that the oligarchy of slaveholders can desire or demand.

The one threatens to tear down our whole national fabric. The other proposes to propitiate and pacify the threateners, by moulding that fabric to their liking, and placing it under their control.

These two conspiracies are, at this moment, in separate session—the one, openly, in day-light, at Montgomery, hurling defiance at the nation, and at high Heaven,—the other is in secret conclave, at the very seat of the national Government, concocting schemes and contriving plots, and negotiating bargains, the secret springs of which will not bear the light of the sun.

Such, fellow citizens, are the two great rival conspiracies, now at work against you. The one is cracking the driver's whip over you, and brandishing the bowie knife at you. The other is weaving spider's webs and preparing traps and pit-falls for you. The one expects to over-awe and frighten you. The other hopes to cajole and cheat you. The one puts the pistol at your breasts. The other prepares for you, in secret, the bowl of poison. The one threatens to kill you. The other, blindly invites you to commit suicide. The one is at a distance, and cannot harm you, if you are not foolishly frightened. The others are in your midst, and will betray you, if you do not look out for them, and silence them.

Both alike, both together, both in loving harmony "peace and Union" will unite their forces, whenever they find it convenient, and in whatever manner best suits them, for the attainment of their common ends.

This is the "peace" and this the "Union" that the one class of them, are talking of, when they invite you to "peace and Union" peace with sin and with Satan—the friendship of the world, which is enmity with God. Christians! Men, Freemen, and brethren, will you cower before them, or consent with them, or be duped by them? God forbid!

* Wesley.

† Hopkins.

The late Church Anti-Slavery Convention in New York.—Of the ninety two persons who enrolled their names as members of the Convention, twenty were ministers. Thirty joined the Church Anti-Slavery Society. Collections were taken up, amounting to \$ 32.31.

It is a matter of thankfulness and encouragement that the meeting was held without disturbance, in these times of mob violence. If such meetings were held frequently, in different parts of this City and Brooklyn, we are persuaded that much good would result from them.

DISCUSSIONS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.—On Tuesday evening next, there will be a further discussion of the question, "What is Civil Government?" in the Congregational Chapel, corner of South 3d and 11th streets, Williamsburgh.

HELP FOR KANSAS! DANGER OF STARVATION!—Read the communication of THADDEUS HYATT in another column.

Maj. Anderson reported to the War Department on Saturday that he was supplied with provisions by his former contractor, and that his force was in good condition.

News of the Day.

SAD CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE IN KANSAS.

ATCHISON, K. T., Monday, Feb. 4, 1861.

Messrs. Hyatt and Pomeroy have prepared the following address to the people of the States, which represents truly, the condition of the people of Kansas, without question:

"Starvation in Kansas! But one step between 50,000 people and death! An appeal to the Press of the country, to the Churches, to Congress, to the State Legislatures, to philanthropists, and to the humane everywhere. Prompt action by the country, or a miracle from God, can alone save this people. The famine, like a vortex, draws to its frightful center, all conditions. They who had food yesterday, have none to-day, and they who have food to-day, have none for to-morrow. Seventy teams arrived yesterday. Fifty were loaded and sent away the day before. Ten thousand dollars worth of clothing has been distributed within the last week. Six thousand dollars in cash, within four days, have been paid for freights. Eighty-one car-loads of provisions have arrived within that time, and yet starvation is imminent. The people are living from hand to mouth, and are barely saved alive. Our funds are now exhausted. The numbers of the destitute increase fearfully. The melting snows of February and the overflowing streams must shortly prevent the distant sufferers from coming here to get supplies. Their salvation depends upon our promptness in establishing depots of provisions at accessible points. Without funds the whole work must cease. The intermission of a week is death and desolation. Unless the country gives us seed there can be no harvest, and the seed wheat should be in the ground within forty days. At least 100,000 bushels is needed for food, and as much more for seed to the heart of the country, and in the name of Christ we make this earnest appeal. (Signed) THADDEUS HYATT.

In behalf of a perishing multitude.

I indorse every word of the above.

(Signed)

S. C. POMEROY,

Chairman of the Kansas Relief Committee, and Gen. Agent for Distribution.

THE REPUBLICAN "FACTIONS"—NEW ORGANIZATION OF PARTIES.

We have never supposed that the Republican party could long survive its accession to office. But we had hardly expected to see it dropping in pieces between the termination of the canvass, and the inauguration of its President elect. The following is from the *New York Tribune*:

"Is it true that a third party is arising in our politics, to be called the Concession Party? If there is to be such a party, and it is certainly not impossible, it will aim, no doubt, to hold a middle position between the Republican and the Democratic parties, but must, in the nature of the case, direct its efforts to destroy the first and give aid and comfort to the second. For our part, we propose still to remain faithful to the doctrines of the platform, and likewise to the spirit of the Republican party. We go with Abraham Lincoln, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the Laws: and with Salmon P. Chase, who says that his motto is 'Inauguration first, Adjustment afterward,' and with Henry Clay, who said that 'no earthly power could induce him to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of Slavery where it had not before existed.' No matter how large or how small the Concession party may prove to be, we shall endeavor still to follow the Republican flag, and contend for Republican principles."

"A middle position between the Republican and Democratic parties" must indeed be a curiosity. The *Tribune* is right in supposing that it would "give aid and comfort to the latter." But the difficulty is to find out wherein, how much, and why, the former can differ from the latter. Both agree in letting slavery alone where it is, which is, in effect, letting it alone, altogether, as passing events testify. What is the Democratic President now doing, but letting it alone where it is, and consequently letting it do whatever it pleases?

For the present however, there are, as *Tribune* intimates, "two factions" in the Republican party, though it is amusing to witness the mutual recriminations between them. As for example,

The *Tribune* reproves C. M. Clay for "his recent compromising speech at Washington, whereupon C. M. Clay retorts that—

"You (*The Tribune*) were doing more to encourage treason and the dissolution of the Union than all the Cotton States put together—that you were more than compromisers, and nigh on to rebels and traitors" [throwing back the language of the *Tribune*!] Now gentlemen when, very much in consequence of your false moves, the battle has gone partially against us, and I am attempting to gather together our shattered columns," &c., &c.

Thus charging on the *Tribune* the blame of having first proposed compromises.]

The *Tribune* explains by saying:

It is true that at the beginning of the Secession movement we expressed a wish that the disaffected States might be allowed to separate themselves from the rest of the Union, if in their sober and matured judgment they were satisfied that such a step was essential to their welfare, provided always that the separation were effected peaceably and legally and with a just regard to the rights and interests of the United States. That we no longer advocate acquiescence in the demands of the seceding States is because the nature and tone of these demands have altogether changed.

Vacillation and uncertainty must forever divide the councils of parties built upon expedients instead of principles.

The Daily Tribune of Feb. 4 devotes nearly three and a half columns to an account of what it denominates "The contest at Albany, a struggle for the Senatorship—Nomination of Judge Harris;" in the course of which account the Tribune says—

"We tell no secret when announcing that the Republican party of New York, like all other parties, in all other States, has two 'wings.' In this instance, while the wing which is understood to follow the lead of Messrs. Seward and Weed (we state this thus pointedly merely to be understood), had to a man concentrated its strength upon Mr. Evans, the other wing, though agreeing in principles and policy, had divided its forces between the two.

The rival candidates were Evans, Greeley and Harris, with scattering votes for Raymond, Smith, Brewster, Selden, and Noyes.

"The supporters of Messrs. Harris and Greeley," (says the Tribune) both aimed at the same object—the overthrow of the one-man power at our State capital. "Down with the Dictator!" was the rallying cry of both. Finally the two factions stood face to face.

By "the Dictator" is meant Thurlow Weed, of the Albany Evening Journal, "the Governor of Governors" as he has been called, and the special partizan of Seward.

After numerous ballottings, Judge Harris was nominated, and the account closes with

"Though minor offices may be bought and sold, the election of a United States Senator cannot be consummated, in the capital of the Empire State, by contract!"

[Thus we catch a peep behind the curtain, in the shifting of the scenes.]

Having thus triumphed over the Weed "faction," the Tribune next adventures a tilt at Seward, the same day.

Senator Seward, in his speech of Thursday last, declares his readiness to renounce Republican principles for the sake of the Union. In this readiness the Senator differs totally from the almost incomparable majority of the Republican party, and from the President elect. They regard these principles as sacred. They will not forswear them, at the bidding of a world of seceding and treasonable slaveholders. They see no necessity to choose between them; but if such a choice must be made, they prefer their principles to fifty Unions.

The Daily Tribune of Tuesday, 5th inst, says:

The Republican party seems likely to be as badly off as the Government. It is more than threatened by betrayal. It is to be divided and sacrificed, if the thing can be done. We are boldly told it must be suppressed, and a Union party rise upon its ruins, as if the Republican party and its Chicago platform were incompatible with Union!

The Tribune's Correspondent at Washington, under date of Monday, 4th, says:

There is a strong purpose here, to hold, a Republican caucus, to determine if there is a Republican party, and what its creed and policy is, since late commentaries have thrown doubt upon its existence.

What if "the two factions" should devour each other? What if all that remains of the "Republican party" should be a "Concession party?" What if "the third party" to come up, should be an honest abolition party? What if the Democratic and Concession parties should have to unite, in order to cope with it?

Independent and Impertinent.—The Toronto Leader, which is represented to be the organ of the Canadian Government, may much more reasonably be pronounced the organ of Slavery and secession. The identity of tone, in fact, with that of the late Washington Constitution might encourage a belief in a transmigration of souls; the extinct Brown yielding his spirit rather to this Northern press than to the more congenial atmosphere of Montgomery. The Leader is Pro-Slavery, revolutionary and rebellious. In discussing the *habeas corpus* in the Anderson case, it distinctly asserts the independence of Canada; declares against obedience to the writ and a surrender of the prisoner, and bespeaks a war of resolute resistance against the Crown and its magistrates. And at the same moment it coolly discusses the propriety of listening to any application of the Northern States looking toward annexation to Canada; with a supercilious postponement of its decision until the day, probably quite distant, when the petition shall be presented.—N. Y. Times.

Destitution in Georgia.—The Southern Cultivator, an old and respectable agricultural journal, issued at Augusta, Ga., says,

"We have been suddenly brought into a position which suggests grave probabilities of war. We are therefore arming. But we labor under a greater deficiency than the want of arms. It is the want of bread. The State of Georgia has not now grain enough within her limits to feed her population and domestic animals until the gathering of the next crop. It is presumed that the rest of the Cotton States

are in a similar condition. Last year we obtained our supplies from the Northwest. It may be that our currency will be in a condition to prevent this supply, except at ruinous sacrifices. It may be that we shall be cut off from it altogether. This is probable, unless these supplies are immediately procured. We are presenting in Georgia, at this moment, the anomalous spectacle of a people having upwards of twenty millions of dollars worth of the earth's products for sale, yet requiring a large proportion of the results of sale to buy the common necessities of life, which are also the products of the soil! If we were to write until doomsday, in advocacy of a mixed husbandry, we could not utter language so forcible as that which is uttered by the present crisis. *We are surprised. We are caught unprepared. We have much to sell, nobody to buy, and little to eat and wear.*"

Secretary of the Interior.—Greenwood was speedily confirmed in executive session of the Senate, as Secretary of the Interior.

The Ultimatum of Virginia.—It is rumored here that the Virginia commissioners will propose to the border state congress, that the President be solicited to withdraw all troops from the southern forts. If such be the case, the proceedings in that convention will be anything but harmonious.

The Alabama Commissioner.—The Alabama commissioner has not been recognized at head-quarters, and will probably take the President's reply to Col. Hayne, as final to his mission.

Retraction of States to Foreign Powers.—It is suggested by a leading Northern Senator that such States as have been acquired by negotiation from other nations, and have seceded from the Union, be now ceded back to their original possessors, thereby securing the co-operation of those Governments with our own, and punishing at the same time the refractory States.

A Secession Plot.—I learn from reliable authority that a plan had been concocted in New-Orleans for seizing the *Crusader*, but her commander was not to be entrapped. It was arranged that Lieut. Maffitt should visit New-Orleans, and whilst there, be complimented with a dinner. All the officers were to be invited, and the whole party made drunk. The city authorities were then to take quiet possession of the ship, and anchor her off in the stream.

ALBANY, Friday, Feb. 1.

One hundred citizens of Albany, having petitioned Mayor Thatcher to prevent the meeting of abolitionists in this City next week, for fear of a riot; he replies stating that he has neither authority nor inclination to interrupt freedom of speech; that he has no fear of a riot in the orderly City of Albany, and that the best way to treat the abolitionists is to leave them alone, and give them no capital by creating an excitement about them.

Interview between the President and Senator Sumner.—Senator Sumner, at the request of Gov. Andrew, has had an interview with the President, to get his answer to the tender, by Massachusetts, of her militia to sustain the Government.

This business ended, Sumner asked "is there anything else Massachusetts can do?"

The President replied "Yes; your State can do more. She can adopt the Crittenden compromise."

Mr. Sumner continued—"Is that necessary?"

President—"It is."

Mr. Sumner—"Massachusetts has not acted directly on the Crittenden proposition, which seeks to give Constitutional protection to Slavery, and disfranchise a large number of her citizens."

He added his opinion in the strongest language, that such are the convictions of her people, that they never would consent to any such proposition.

The President said he was discouraged by this declaration.

Mr. Sumner rejoined that they could all stand on the common ground of the Constitution as administered by George Washington, and that the verdict of the people last November should both be recognized and protected, without price or condition.

The Montgomery Convention of the seceding States has assembled. Howell Cobb is elected President.

The North Carolina legislature has decided unanimously to go with the other slave states in case reconciliation fails.

The Louisiana Senators have withdrawn from Congress; on which occasion, Mr. Slidell delivered himself of a gasconading speech.

Gov. Brown, of Georgia, has demanded of Gov. Morgan, of New York, the immediate surrender of the arms recently seized in the city by the Metropolitan police, by order of Superintendent Kennedy, and in his communication expresses the hope that a like outrage will not again be committed. Gov. Morgan has not yet replied to the demand.

At a meeting on Saturday evening, of citizens of South Carolina resident in Washington, much diversity of opinion prevailed, and the meeting closed in disorder.

A large property holder at the meeting threatened to return to his State, sell his real property, remove his slaves, and abandon forever the Palmetto nation.

THE CASE OF THE FUGITIVE ANDERSON.

TORONTO, Feb. 2, 1861.

The English writ of *habeas corpus*, in the case of the fugitive Anderson, arrived in town yesterday. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas here has also issued a writ of *habeas corpus*. As the prisoner is in the Brantford jail the result remains to be seen. Both the bench and bar are unanimous in the opinion that the Chief Justice of England acts unwarrantably in sending a writ to be executed within the jurisdiction of the Chief Justice of Canada.—Tribune.

THE ULTIMATUM OF SOUTH CAROLINA SENT TO THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, Saturday, Feb. 2, 1861.

The President has received Col. Hayne's communication in regard to the public property in South Carolina, and demanding, in case he will not enter into negotiation for the surrender of Fort Sumter.

This letter has been prepared with great care, having been submitted to Messrs. Hunter and Mason, and also to Messrs. Benjamin and Slidell.

The President will reply to it as early as possible. His views are already well known to the people of South Carolina in regard to this matter. He has seen nothing in the events of the last few weeks to change them.

Lieut. Hall's departure for South Carolina, with official dispatches, has been postponed for the present. He expected to have gone to-night.

Further investigation shows that the actual amount of money seized at New Orleans is about \$600,000, exclusive of the value of the machinery and Mint. No doubt is entertained that this seizure was made upon the suggestion of the conspirators here.

A sharp colloquy took place in the Senate yesterday between John P. Hale and Joe Lane, in which the New Hampshire Senator told Lane that if civil war came, the first thing that would be done would be to suppress all Northern traitors. To Clingman of North Carolina, who had compared the secession of the South to the going out of the ten tribes of Israel, Hale replied that the ten tribes had left the ark of the covenant behind them when they seceded, and went to destruction so complete that nobody but God knew what had become of them.

The Border Convention assembled at Washington on Monday. But, up to the same date, the Legislature of New York were debating whether to send delegates. The Convention sits with closed doors, and excludes newspaper reporters.

Interception of Gen. Dix's dispatches.—All of Gen. Dix's telegraphic dispatches to the agent, sent to Mobile and New Orleans, were intercepted by authorities. They could not have been known without the instrumentality of the telegraphic office, and a serious question is thus presented to the public. Orders to the naval officers at Pensacola were stopped in the same way, by which that navy-yard was lost to the Government.

(Special Dispatches to the N. Y. Tribune.)
WASHINGTON Feb. 3.

Notwithstanding the compromising aspect of things, there is likely to be a decided Republican demonstration here, before many days. There would have been a very emphatic expression of opinion by Republican Senators on the day of Mr. Seward's speech on the New-York petition, but for the fact that Mr. Mason was awarded the floor instead of Mr. Fessenden. It cannot be long postponed. Gov. Chase arrived this morning. He is explicit against the compromisers.
J. S. P.

THE NEW ORLEANS MINT.

Great indignation is felt at the seizure and robbery of the Mint in New Orleans by the Secessionists. Gen. Dix gave the Adams Express an order, ten days ago, to draw \$350,000 of \$389,000 of silver bullion and coin in the hands of the Sub-Treasurer. That officer feigned some excuse for delay, when the Express agent proposed to take part of it at once, as the whole amount weighed nine tons, and would require five or six days for transportation. This suggestion was declined, and on Friday he was informed that the State authorities had appropriated the Mint and money. Gen. Dix telegraphed to the Sub-Treasurer yesterday, after receiving this intelligence, to have it verified officially. There is no doubt of collusion between Federal and State officers, and the robbery is believed to have been advised from here.

THE REVENUE CUTTERS.

An agent from the Treasury Department was recently dispatched to Mobile and New Orleans with instructions to save the two Revenue cutters at those points, if possible. The Lewis Cass was at Mobile, and he probably reached there too late, as she is reported to have been taken. The Robert McClelland, the fastest cutter in the service, was near New Orleans when the agent started. As no confidence was placed in her captain, Gen. Dix's instructions required the first lieutenant to assume command, and if the captain resisted, to arrest him for mutiny. If the agent reached his destination in time to communicate with the cutter, she is probably saved to the Government, otherwise she has doubtless been betrayed, after the example at Charleston.

The Illinois Legislature, on Saturday, out of respect for Virginia, requested the Governor to appoint five Commis-

sioners to the Washington Convention, but resolved, at the same time, that it should not be regarded as an expression of "opinion on the part of that State that any amendment of the Federal Constitution is requisite to afford to the people of the slaveholding States adequate guaranties for the security of their rights, nor an approval of the basis of settlement of our difficulties proposed by the State of Virginia."

It is stated, on good authority, that great insubordination exists among the volunteer troops at Pensacola, and that many of them are returning home disgusted.

Col. Hayne submitted his communication to the President on Saturday. It is quite pacific and conciliatory in tone, as, it appears, Gov. Pickens and the State authorities do not desire to bring their force in collision with Fort Sumter.—*Tribune.*

THE TEXAS CONVENTION has passed an ordinance of secession, subject to the vote of the people, on the 23d February, and if adopted it will go into operation on the 2d of March.

THE PACIFICATION CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

Mr. Seddon, of Virginia, desired to proceed with business, and proposed to take up the Crittenden resolutions for consideration. This met with violent opposition, as most of the Northern Commissioners seemed favorable to delay, and an animated debate followed, in which Messrs. Rives and Seddon, of Virginia; Chase, of Ohio; Guthrie, of Kentucky, and others took part. It was finally agreed to defer action until the absent delegations should arrive, and the Convention adjourned.

Fort Sumpter.—The women and children have been removed from Fort Sumpter. Ominous!

Washington Feb. 6.—A number of Republican members of the State Legislature of New Jersey, and others belonging to the same Party, are here, urging their Representatives not to agree to any compromises which will compound their principles.

The steamer Marion which left Charleston Sunday noon, arrived here yesterday with a full cargo of rice and cotton. Among the passengers were the wives of twenty of the soldiers at Fort Sumpter. They state that the provisions at the Fort are quite low, and that no more can be obtained from the people of Charleston.

Vermont Politics.—Burlington Feb. 6.—The late delegates to the Chicago Convention from Vermont, comprising many of the leading Republicans of the state, met informally at Montpelier last evening, and unanimously protested against the adoption of any of the proposed plans of compromise before Congress.

A Union Party in Charleston.—Private letters from Charleston state that so far from all the people there being secessionists, there are many of them in favor of the Union, and if they were only assured that the United States Government would protect them, they would come out openly in opposition to the disastrous policy upon which the State has entered. The writers believe that a strong re-actionary feeling can be produced among those who were hurried into hostility to the General Government, and there is a movement on foot to send a delegation to Washington to ask the President if he will exercise all his power to protect those who shall rally to the cause of the Union.

It is further asserted that if satisfactory assurances cannot be obtained from Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Lincoln will, on his assumption of office, be applied to, and if he pledges himself to stand by the Union men in Charleston and other parts of the state, they will boldly declare their sentiments, and battle for the Union. Surely, it is the primary and imperative duty of the Government to encourage and protect its loyal citizens in every part of the Union.

Collecting debts in South Carolina.—A large commercial house in this city, some time since, sent to their agent, a lawyer in South Carolina, notes of business firms in his vicinity, amounting to \$1,800, which were about to mature, to be collected. They received no intelligence from the legal gentleman aforesaid, until a few days ago, when the notes were all returned, having been kept by him until they were sixty days over due. Accompanying the notes was a letter from the agent, stating that he considered himself an honest man, but he would not collect debts against the citizens of South Carolina, in favor of Northern creditors. In reply, the house here, wrote back that they must respectfully demur to his claim to be an "honest man," that in this latitude a man who practiced such a trick as the one he had been guilty of, would not be recognized as either honest or honorable, whatever notions to the contrary might prevail in Carolina. In conclusion, they notified him that he had rendered himself personally liable for the entire amount of the notes, if he ever came this way they would accommodate him with rooms in Eldridge street Jail until he paid what had thus been swindled out of confiding creditors in New York.—*N. Y. Times.*

The Lull.—The attack on Sumter deferred.—Offended parties—Major Anderson's position.—The Harbor obstructions swept away.—The new flag.

CHARLESTON, S. C., February 3, 1861.

During the latter half of the past week there has been

something of a lull in that portion of the drama of revolution here enacting. The legislature adjourned *sine die*, as you know, on Monday night most of its members returning home within the two subsequent days, thereby effecting a considerable diminution in the number of guests at the Mills and the Charleston hotels, and in the concourse which nightly assembled in the halls of the same. The crowd now thronging to those popular informal congresses is only exceptionally worthy of the title. One sees, perhaps, not more military caps and uniforms, but in the absence of civilians these naturally preponderate. I may add of our late law-makers, that all were of respectable and many of distinguished appearance. Generally middle-aged, attired in black, (in recognition of a once universal American fashion which New York has learned to ignore, after the English model,) my remarks in a previous letter on the patrician physique of South Carolinians will apply particularly to those constituting her recent legislature.

THE ATTACK ON SUMTER DEFERRED.

It broke up leaving us to discuss Fort Sumter, and make preparations to take it. Up to Thursday I believe, the popular impression was that an assault was imminent. Now we have deferred it, and are all looking to the action of the convention of seceding States which meets to-morrow at Montgomery, Alabama. It is felt that nothing can be hoped from Washington in response to the ultimatum of South Carolina, and that Colonel Hayne, unrecognized or only dabbly admitted in his official capacity, had better come home. When the demand for the rendition of Fort Sumter shall be made in the name of a southern confederacy, though as yet consisting but of six States, the government, however unwilling to grant it, will be obliged to do so or accept the alternative of civil war. That is how we stand at present.

There are reasons within reasons, of course, for this assent to temporary inactivity. Some of our cannon on James and Morris islands lack gun-carriages, we want more ammunition, and the floating battery is incomplete. I visited it yesterday; it promises to be more formidable than I had anticipated. The taller end, that where the cannon will be placed, now presents a front or over seventy feet in width, while eight port-holes are prepared for their accommodation. It then rises from the bottom to a height of about twenty feet, and is at least seventy in width from front to rear. Carpenters are at work on it continually.—*Eve. Post.*

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

THE SEA.

I looked o'er the broad Atlantic,
Far out on the stormy sea,
And I stretched my arms for my loved one,
For my darling to come to me.

The wild waves foamed and fretted,
And tossed their crests at me,
And I wept as the loud winds lifted
The moaning and sobbing sea.

The storm passed o'er, and the sunshine,
Bright day, and the darkling night,
But the glad ships, homeward sailing,
Brought her not to my longing sight.

Yet she came at last, my darling,
My dove with the heavenly wing,
Her white plumes all untarnished,
Yet she drooped like an earthly thing.

They had caged, and mocked, and grieved her,
They had starved her fainting soul,
Till my love alone seemed left her,
Her only earthly goal.

So she came all sick and dying,
A wreck from the stormy sea,
A wreck of the beautiful being,
That had ever been all to me.

I folded her close to my bosom,
I whispered the love of years,
Yet she died in my arms, too weary
To tarry for all my tears.

And I listen again to the moaning
Of the waves, as they talk to me,
I shall meet no more my darling,
Till we stand on the golden sea.

E. J.

For the Principia.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF HOSACK.

BY E. KUBESS, Y. D. M.

Southrons! own at last your error,
Freedom now is sure to win!
Prisons now have lost their terror,
Conqu'rors they who reign within!

Thrones may crumble, empires perish,
Pyramids may prostrate lie;
But for deeds we love and cherish,
Names like these can never die!

Lost is the day—and lost your prestige,
Gone, our new Thermopylae!
Gone—ere long, the latest vestige
Of the serfdom of the free!

Noble men have nobly spoken,
Fought anew our Lexington,
Serried ranks again are broken,
Mightier conflict is begun!

Freedom, rous'd, her fetters spurneth,
Stronger by her dull delay;
Thus the tide again returneth,
Ebbing slowly, as it may!

Southrons, yield the hopeless battle!
Freedom was not born to die!
Take not all for slaves or cattle,
Millions still your pride defy.

For Religion's fires and altars,
For her name so foully stain'd;
In the faith which never falters
Till our battles all are gain'd!

In the might of truth and numbers,
By the banner of our God,
Rouse the nation from its slumbers,
Pour contempt on force and fraud!

SNOW FLAKES.

Blow! blow! breezes blow—
Waft to us the pearly snow!
Hasten, hasten, wind and gale,
Spread your sails, they never fail;
Clothe the world in garments fair—
Make earth look less bleak and bare.

From the sky, from the sky—
From their airy homes on high,
Drive the fleecy flakes of snow
To the quiet vales below;
Gently, gently fling them down,
Forming winter's snowy crown.

Wrap the earth in garments white—
Make the barren fields seem bright;
Blow! blow! breezes blow—
Waft to us the pearly snow.

For the Principia.

STORY FOR THE LITTLE FOLKS.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEAR CHILDREN: When the great God made man, he said that it was not good that he should be alone, and so he made a woman to be with him, to be his dear friend, companion and help-meet.

Oh, how glad Adam must have been, when God gave him such a beautiful and loving companion as Eve was. Hear what he said, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave to his wife, and they shall be one flesh."

That means that they should dearly love each other, and dwell together as one; each trying to make the other happy; each feeling their mutual obligations to the other, and faithfully and cheerfully fulfilling them.

Now this is what God designed that husband and wife should be, and do. But if one pulls one way, and the other another, if one has separate interests from the other, and will not blend them together, then they are not one, as God designed.

If one will disregard the wishes and affection of the other, then let them do it before marriage, not after. Now, dear children, you will see by this that God made us social beings, and designed that we should sustain friendly relations to all our fellow-creatures; although we have special relations to our own families, which we should never neglect.

And it is also true that every rational being possesses an equality of natural rights, and that all are jealous of those rights; therefore if there was no Government to protect man in the enjoyment of his rights, each individual would feel the necessity of protecting himself; consequently he would fortify himself as best he could in his own citadel, or house, and defend himself, and avenge his own wrongs, real or imaginary, and distrust would prevail. Society would be broken up, and barbarism, cruelty and crime would triumph, and man experience horrors too fearful to contemplate.

We therefore see that Government is necessary to the existence of society, and for the protection of man, in the possession, and enjoyment of his rights.

WILLIE. From whence did man derive his authority for instituting civil government?

To give an intelligent answer to this inquiry, we will refer to the great record of God's revealed will, contained in Rom. xiii ch. 1st and 2nd verses, where our Heavenly Father addresses man in the following language:

"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power (civil authority) resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

Thus we are taught that the institution of civil govern-

ment is from God, and its authority is derived from God.

Now remember these facts, and in my next I will tell you what the proper business of civil government is.

Affectionately yours,

DEACON T—.

MAPLE COTTAGE, Jan. 30, 1861.

DIFFICULTY AND EFFORT.

It is not ease, but effort; not facility, but difficulty, that makes men. There is, perhaps, no station in life, in which difficulties have not been encountered and overcome before any decided measure of success can be achieved; those difficulties are, however, our best instructors, as our mistakes often form our best experience. We learn wisdom from failure more than from our success; we often discover what *will* do, by finding out what will not do; and he who never made a mistake, never made a discovery.—Horne Tooke used to say of his studies in intellectual philosophy, that he had become all the better acquainted with the country through having the good luck sometimes to lose his way. And a distinguished investigator in physical science has left it on record that whenever, in the course of his researches he encountered an apparently insuperable obstacle, he generally found himself on the brink of some novel discovery. The very greatest things, great thoughts, discoveries, inventions—have generally been nurtured in hardship, often pondered over in sorrow, and at length established with difficulty.

Beethoven said of Rossini, that he had in him the stuff to have made a good musician, if he had only when a boy been well flogged; but he had been spoilt by the facility with which he produced. Men who feel their strength within them need not fear to encounter adverse opinions; they have far greater reason to fear undue praise and too friendly criticism. When Mendelssohn was about to enter the orchestra at Birmingham, on his first performance of his "Elijah," he said laughingly to one of his friends, and critics, "Stick your claws into me! Don't tell me what you like, but what you don't like!"

It has been said, and truly, that it is the defeat that tries the general more than the victory. Washington lost far more battles than he gained; but he succeeded in the end. The Romans, in their most victorious campaigns, almost invariably began with defeats. Moreau used to be compared by his companions to a drum, which nobody hears of, except it be beaten. Wellington's military genius was perfected by encounters with difficulties of apparently the most overwhelming character, but which only served to nerve his resolution, and bring out more prominently his great qualities, as a man and a general. So the skillful mariner obtains his best experience amidst storms and tempests, which train him to self-reliance, courage, and the highest discipline; and we probably owe to rough seas and wintry nights, the best training of our race of British seamen, who are certainly not surpassed by any in the world.—*Self-Help*.

LIFE ON SNOW.

From Goss's Romance of Natural History, published by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln, Boston, we take the following:—

Who would expect to find the expanse of everlasting snow in the Arctic regions, and at the summits of the Alps, the seat of abundant life, whether vegetable or animal! Yet such is the fact. Ross observed, in Baffin's Bay, a range of cliffs covered with snow which was tinged with a brilliant crimson color for an extent of eight miles, the hue penetrating from the surface down to the very rock a depth of twelve feet. The same phenomenon has been observed in other parts of the Polar regions, on the glaciers of the Alps, and in other similar circumstances. Scientific investigation has proved this color to be caused by the excessive abundance of minute organisms, mostly vegetable, of a very simple character, in the form, according to Dr. Greville, of a gelatinous layer, on which rest a vast number of minute globules, resembling, in brilliance and color, fine garnets. Professor Agassiz, however, maintains that these globules are not vegetables, but the eggs of a minute though highly-organized animal, one of the *Rotifera*, named *Philodina roseola*, which animal he found in abundance, with the globules, in the glacier of the Aar. Other minute animals were also found in the snow.

In Canada I have found, in the depth of winter, living and active insects on the surface of the snow, which are

seen nowhere else, and at no other season. Little hopping atoms, of singular structure, adapted to a mode of progression peculiarly their own, dance about on the unsullied bosom of the new-fallen snow. They belong to the genus *Podura*, and are distinguished by having at the extremity of their body two long, stiff bristles, ordinarily bent up under the belly, but which, at the pleasure of the insect, fly out straight with great force, and thus jerk it into the air, on the principle of a child's toy-frog. Other curious species,—two in particular, both belonging to winged families, yet both without wings, the one a sort of wingless gnat, the other something like a flea, but really one of the *Panorpidae*, I have found numerous in similar circumstances, and in no other.

RESPONSIBILITY.

A feeling of responsibility is necessary to the prompt and faithful discharge of duty. The performance of work must be attended with this feeling, to insure its execution in the best manner and at seasonable time. Children can easily be taught this, without unduly taxing them. Let the little boy know that he is expected to keep his playthings in place and in order, to have the kindlings ready for the fire; or to care for the chickens, or for Skip—make him responsible for something how insignificant soever, in itself, that thing may be—it assists in forming a most valuable habit. See that the thing to be done is done just at the time appointed for it, and in the time assigned to its performances.

The little girl can dust the room, arrange the chairs, and, as she grows older, trim the lamps, or set the table for meals, or prepare some part of the food for the family. Especially, should they all, as soon as they are old enough, to be taught how to do it, be responsible for the neatness of their flower or vegetable gardens, and for the health of all the plants they cultivate.

This, instead of interfering with their bodily growth and mental development, assists them; it promotes the children's happiness, and gives them a sense of usefulness and self-respect most salutary in its effect on their characters. Do not allow them, from caprice, or a temporary feeling of indolence, or an inclination to finish something else they may be doing at the time, to defer their work; if it is deemed expedient, for any cause, that they should omit it, let them arrange with another to do it for a consideration, either of affection or similar service; but, have the work done, and promptly done. If properly taught, children will do it heartily. As their capacity naturally increases, increase the importance of the work for which they are responsible.

Such children will become efficient men and women in society, and society will honor them.—*Life Illustrated*.

DISCOURAGING CHILDREN.

It is somewhere related that a poor soldier, having had his skull fractured, was told by the doctor that his brains were visible. "Do write and tell father of it, for he always said I had no brains," he replied. How many fathers and mothers tell their children this, and how often does such a remark contribute not a little to prevent any development of the brain? A grown up person tells a child he is brainless, foolish, or a blockhead, or that he is deficient in some mental or moral faculty, and nine cases out of ten, the statement is believed, or if not fully believed, the thought that it may be partially so, acts like an incubus to repress the confidence and energies of that child. Let any person look back to childhood's days, and he can doubtless recall many words and expressions which exerted such a discouraging or encouraging influence over him, as to tell upon his whole future course of life.

We knew an ambitious boy, who, at the age of ten years, had become so depressed with fault-finding and reproof, not duly mingled with encouraging words that at an early age he longed for death to take him out of the world, in which he conceived he had no ability to rise. But while all thus appeared so dark around him, and he had been so often told of his faults and deficiencies, that he seemed to himself the dullest and worst of boys, and while none of his good qualities or capabilities had been mentioned, and he believed he had none, a single word of praise and appreciation, carelessly dropped in his hearing, changed his whole course of thought. We have often heard him say "that word saved

him." The moment he thought he could do well, he resolved that he would—and he has done well. Parents, these are important considerations.

DARK HOURS.

There are dark hours that mark the history of the best years. For not a whole month in many of the past, the sun shone brilliantly all the time. And there have been cold and stormy days in every year. And yet the mist shadows of the darkest hour disappeared and fled heedlessly. The most cruel ice fetters have been broken and solved, and the most furious storm loses its power to oppress. And what a parable is this human life—of our inside where the heart works at its shadowing of the dark hours, and many a cold blast chills the heart to its core. But what matters it? Man is born a hero, and it is only in the darkness and storms that heroism gains its greatest and best development, and the storm bears it more rapidly to its tiny. Despair not then. Neither give up; while our power is yours, use it. Disappointment will not be remedied. Mortifying failure may attend this effort, and that—but only be honest and struggle on, and it will well.

RAINING CALVES.

Mr. J. A. Edwards of Skaneateles, N. Y. gives in the *Rural Yorker* his process, as follows:

"Remove the calf from the cow at the age of two or three days, give it new milk for two or three weeks—four or five quarts at each meal—twice a day. At the end of that period commence giving milk skimmed after twelve hours of a day,—in one week, omit the new milk and give only skimmed milk. As they advance in age, the milk may be allowed to stand a longer time before skimming. Instead of giving meal and turning out to pasture, as is usually practiced, I prefer keeping them in a large stable, allowing them to run, and feeding all the fine rowen or nice clover hay they will eat, with skimmed milk, or whey, for drink until they are five months old. If the stock is good word for it, you will have calves worth showing."

NOTICE.

THE INDEPENDENT METHODIST CHURCH meet in the Lecture Room of their new Meeting House near 6th Avenue, on 41st Street, New York city, on Sunday, Feb. 10, 1861. The first, or opening sermon will be preached at 10 a. m., by the Pastor Rev. H. MATTISON. 3 p. m., second sermon by Rev. M. STAPLES of Brooklyn, and at 8 p. m., by Rev. D. M. GRAHAM. This Church has been in an organic and laboring condition about two years. They have an active membership and an interesting congregation. The cause of Anti-Slavery and Temperance, and the purity of the Church, are prominent in the labors of both Pastor and members. They invite those agreeing with them to come and help them, and those disagreeing with them, to come and be convinced of their errors, and be set right.

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